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THE LYRICS OF FAZIO DEGLI UBERTI IN THEIR RELATION TO DANTE

BY CHARLES EDWARD WHITMORE

Fazio degli Uberti, both by virtue of his historical position and in his own right as a lyric poet, is an important figure in Italian literature of the Trecento. For a proper understanding of his worth on both counts, an exact knowledge of his relation to Dante is of prime importance. That he was intimately acquainted with Dante's work, and in close sympathy with his general attitude, is a statement requiring no elaborate proof; but it is worth while to ascertain just what he chose to take over from Dante, and just what use he made of it. He marks a new stage in the development of Italian lyric, deriving certain motives and phrases from Dante, but utilizing them for ends of his own. Moreover, he had before him not only Dante's lyrics, but the great fabric of the *Commedia*; and the tracing of the influence of the latter, as it passes into the field of lyric, will be not the least interesting part of our discussion. Fazio's *Dittamondo* has long served as the chief document of his knowledge of the *Commedia*, and has already been studied in that connection;¹ but the reflex of the *Commedia* on his lyrics, and their relation to the *Canzoniere* of his supreme predecessor, have thus far awaited the detailed examination which I here propose to give them.

The present study is based on a concordance to the lyrics of Fazio, completed by me, early in 1915, from Renier's critical edition. I have in practically all cases accepted his text, as well as his canon and arrangement of Fazio's authentic poems. Dr. Ezio Levi's ingenious attempt² to deprive Fazio of the "canzone di Roma" (no. xii) has not convinced me. This is not the place for a refutation of his arguments, which, in any

¹ See Achille Pellizzari, *Il Dittamondo e la Divina Commedia*, Pisa, 1905.

² See *L'Autore della "Canzone di Roma,"* in *Poesia di Popolo e Poesia di Corte nel Trecento*, Livorno, 1915.

case, those who desire can easily review for themselves; but I may remark that the internal evidence of the poem, which Dr. Levi is inclined to ignore, seems to me decisive in favor of Fazio's authorship. Citations from Dante are drawn from the Oxford text, with the exclusion of certain obviously unauthentic pieces. They are: the seventeenth canzone, *Morte, poich' io non truovo a cui mi doglia*, really by Jacopo Cecchi; the eighteenth, *O patria degna di trionfal fama*, surely not by Dante, whoever may have been the true author; and the palpably apocryphal *Salmi* and *Credo*. Questions of authenticity in the scattered sonnets and ballate do not much concern us, since few parallels to them are to be found in Fazio, who, indeed, is not conspicuously a sonneteer, and, so far as we know, wrote no ballate.

Fazio's poems may be roughly divided into three groups. First, and on the whole most excellent, are the love poems, canzoni ii to viii inclusive; second, and not much inferior, the political poems, canzoni xi, xii, and xiv, and the frottola, to which may be added the historical canzoni, xv and xvi; and third, a miscellaneous group, of a didactic or moralizing cast, canzoni i, ix, x, and xiii, with the sonnets on the seven deadly sins. Certain minor poems will receive only incidental mention. It will be helpful, I think, to take up these groups in order, treating first their relations to Dante's lyrics, and then their connection with the *Commedia*. A discussion of parallel passages is at best hard to keep in coherent shape, and a certain amount of crossing between groups seems unavoidable; but I shall endeavor to make the bearings of the different parts of the paper as intelligible as I can.

I

The general relation of Fazio's love poems to those of Dante is easily pointed out. Fazio has nothing to do with the scholastic aspects of the *dolce stil nuovo*, or with what we may call its technical vocabulary. He wholly neglects, for instance, the apparatus of personified *spiriti*, and the importance attached to such words as *umiltà* and *salute*. Indeed, it is significant that the sole passage in Fazio which verges on the "scientific" sense of *spirito* immediately applies it to the birds in spring:

Che vivi spiritelli
Paion d' amor, creati alla verdura (*Canz.* v, 22).

Fazio, in short, is no philosopher, but a keen observer of the visible world. As a natural consequence, he is most strongly influenced by the poems in which Dante shows himself least philosophical, and closest to actual experience. We should therefore expect two of Dante's canzoni, the "winter song," *Io son venuto al punto della rota* (xv), and the "song of the harsh speech," *Così nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro* (xii), to be among Fazio's favorites; and that is precisely the case. The first of these, in fact, is followed by Fazio with a closeness paralleled in no other instance; so that our survey may fitly take this closely matched pair as its point of departure.

The canzone of Fazio's in question is his fifth, *Io guardo fra l'erbette per li prati*, which reproduces the central idea of the "winter song" — the contrast of the lover's state with the phenomena of a season, in this case spring instead of winter. The metrical form of Fazio's canzone is the same, except for the insertion of a seven-syllable line after the second and fifth lines of the original stanza; the division of each stanza between external description and emotion of the writer is also maintained, the latter occupying, in both poems, the last four lines of every stanza. As regards substance, however, Fazio is by no means a mere copyist; he selects and rejects according to the needs of a design of his own. Broadly speaking, the relation of individual stanzas is as follows. The first of Fazio's corresponds to the fourth of Dante's; the second, to the first part of Dante's third; the third, to the second part of Dante's third; the fourth, to the first part of Dante's fifth; the fifth has no parallel in Dante. Fazio, that is, rejects the astronomical and meteorological details with which Dante begins; he transposes the imagery of winter to that of spring, sometimes with a counterpart of Dante's phrasing, sometimes in his own terms; and he adds the final picture of youths and maidens dancing amid the forest. The mode of vision of the two poets is likewise radically distinct. Dante sees the great natural forces and their result — the storm wind, the frozen soil, the "great assault of winter." Fazio's attention is directed almost wholly to the concrete details of springtime — the budding flowers, the nesting birds, the flowing streams, the whole color and movement of the new season. Dante sees each step sharply, sets it down, and then turns to the next in order; Fazio's glance passes rapidly over his whole scene, never rising far above its visible components, but keeping his items well in hand, so that each stanza is

definitely composed, with no hint of the *pastiche*. It is perhaps not a vain conjecture that Dante's own words in his *commiato*:

or che sarà di me nell' altro
Dolce tempo novello,

may have given Fazio his first impulse to composition; but he is quite able to proceed on his own account. If his poem lacks the tremendous concentration and weightiness of Dante's, it has a fresh picturesqueness that is all its own; if its general outward aspect frankly recalls that of its model, its final effect is none the less definite and original.

The following passages will serve to show the transposed phrases referred to above. Lines 2-4 of Fazio,

E veggio isvariar di più colori
Gigli, viole e fiori,
Per la virtù del sol, che fuor gli tira,

correspond to lines 40-42 of Dante:

Passato hanno lor termine le fronde
Che trasse fuor la virtù d' Ariete
Per adornare il mondo, e morta è l' erba;

lines 16-21 of Fazio,

Veggio li uccelli a due a due volare
E l' un l' altro seguir tra gli arboscelli,
Con far nidi novelli,
Trattando con vaghezza lor natura,
E sento ogni boschetto risonare
Dai dolci canti lor,

to lines 27-32 of Dante:

Fuggito è ogni augel, che 'l caldo segue,
Dal paese d' Europa, che non perde
Le sette stelle gelide unquemaï;
E gli altri han posto alle lor voci triegue
Per non sonarle infino al tempo verde,
Se ciò non fosse per cagion di guai;

lines 39-41 of Fazio,

E così par costretto
Ogni animal che 'n su la terra è scorto
In questo primo tempo a seguir gioia,

to lines 33-35 of Dante :

E tutti gli animali, che son gai
Di lor natura, son d'amor disciolti,
Perocchè il freddo lor spirito ammorta ;

and lines 46-47 of Fazio,

Surgono chiare e fresche le fontane,
L'acqua spargendo giù per la campagna,

to lines 53-54 of Dante :

Versan le vene le fumifere acque
Per li vapor che la terra ha nel ventre.

It will be noted that Fazio passes over the scientific touches, with an eye solely to the natural object, which he has evidently observed at first hand, and which he presents as he has seen it.

The canzone of the "harsh speech," though not the model for any single canzone or extended passage, has left its mark in several places. Dante tells us how he longs to make spoil of his lady's tresses (63-65) :

Che ne' biondi capelli,
Ch' Amor per consumarmi increspa e dora,
Metterei mano e sazieremi allora ;

so Fazio, in milder terms, expresses a similar wish (*Canz.* iii, 14) :

Sicch' io potessi quella treccia bionda
Disfarla a onda a onda,
E far de' suoi begli occhi a' miei due specchi,
Che lucon sì che non trovan parecchi,

the last two lines recalling a passage of Dante somewhat farther on (74-76) :

E i suoi begli occhi, ond' escon le faville
Che m' infiammano il cor ch' io porto anciso,
Guarderei presso e fiso.

"S' io avessi le bionde treccie prese," says Dante,

Con esse passerei vespro e le squille ;

and for Fazio in the contemplation of his lady (*Canz.* iv, 72),

Niente m' è a passar vespro e le squille —

practically a direct quotation. In *Canz.* vi, 5,

amore in vista tanto adorna
Dell' intelletto mio prese la cima,

says Fazio ;

Così della mia mente tien la cima

is the parallel phrase in Dante (17). Fazio's metaphorical use of *pietra* in line 32 of the same canzone may also be regarded as a reminiscence of the *rime pietrose*. We may also note a parallel in Fazio's ninth sonnet.

Per me credea che 'l suo forte arco Amore
Avesse steso, e chiusa la faretra,

he begins ; but the hope is vain, for

Colla saetta d' or, che non si arretra,
'M' aperse il petto, e fessi mio signore.

Here we are reminded of lines 6-8 in Dante :

perch' ella s' arretra,
Non esce di faretra
Saetta.

A number of scattered reminiscences are drawn from Dante's eleventh canzone, *Amor, dacchè convien pur ch' io mi doglia*, likewise one of those belonging to his later work. The following passage from Fazio's fourth canzone (99 ff.),

E ciò sarebbe all' alma mia gran pianto
Se scolorasse alquanto ;
Come colei che dopo morte spera
Ch' i' l' andrò a veder dov' ella è vera,

recalls two passages in Dante's : the first, lines 14-15 :

Che se intendesse ciò ch' io dentro ascolto,
Pieta faria men bello il suo bel volto ;

the second, the last two lines of 31-35 :

La nemica figura che rimane
Vittoriosa e fera,
E signoreggia la virtù che vuole,
Vaga di sè medesma andar mi fane
Colà dov' ella è vera.

The first three of these, in turn, have perhaps a feeble echo in Fazio viii, 33 :

E più la sua vittoria
Di sopra alla mia vita sento crescere.

Another fairly close parallel is Dante, lines 46-47 :

Qual io divegna sì feruto, Amore,
Sal tu contar, non io,

and Fazio ii, 42-44 :

Quel ch'io di lei credeva,
E con quanti sospiri e pensier fui,
Dicalo Amor, ch'io nol so dire altrui.

Finally, the metaphor in Dante, line 37 :

Ben conosch'io che va la neve al sole,

reappears in Fazio v, 28 :

Ch'io mi distruggo come al sol la neve,

though it is indeed not so recondite as to need the stimulus of Dante's line to suggest it.

The passages thus far discussed show that Fazio was chiefly drawn to three canzoni of Dante which represent him in his more realistic mood. As we have already noted, that mood was more akin to Fazio's own than is the exalted and mystical strain of Dante's earlier work ; and we accordingly find that Fazio makes few direct drafts on the *Vita Nuova*, the general tone of which is not in accord with his own mode of thought. As close a relation as we can find seems to lie between these lines of Fazio vii, 77 ff.:

Gli occhi e la bocca e ogni biltà tua
Non fece Iddio perchè venisser meno,
Ma per mostrare a pieno
A noi l' esempio della gloria sua,

and lines 49-50 of the first canzone of the *Vita Nuova* :

Ella è quanto di ben può far natura ;
Per esempio di lei beltà si prova.

It will be noted that Fazio's phrasing is less lofty, and more concrete. An occasional phrase from the *Vita Nuova* seems in other cases to have remained in Fazio's memory. Thus the *donne e donzelle* to whom Dante

declares the praise of Beatrice find a place in Fazio, but as figures in a setting, not as *confidantes*. Again, the *color di perla quasi informa* attributed by Dante to his lady (*Vita Nuova*, canz. i, 47), reappears in Fazio's description of his,

Con un color angelica di perla (*Canz.* iii, 62).

Feebler echoes — the unsympathetic might call them parodies — are perhaps heard in two other cases.

Farei parlando innamorar la gente,

says Dante at the beginning of the same canzone; so Fazio, at the beginning of his fourth:

Che non che i nostri cuor, ma que' de' draghi
Farei udendo appaghi,
E per le selve innamorar gli uccelli.

The *pioggia di manna* of the second canzone of the *Vita Nuova* may have been in Fazio's mind in these lines (vii, 57):

E par neve che fiocchi
Dal tuo bel viso l' amorosa manna
Colla qual cibi li spiriti miei.

Such is the rather scanty evidence (except for one case to be noted later) of Fazio's contact with the *Vita Nuova*; and, as a natural corollary, we find in him no sure reminiscences of *E' m' incresce di me sì duramente* (xiii) and *La dispietata mente che pur mira* (xvi), which are commonly held to belong to the *Vita Nuova* period.

A considerable passage in Fazio's third canzone (74 ff.) shows direct relations with the second canzone of the *Convivio*, the topic in both being the praise of the poet's lady. Fazio's lines run:

guardi la mente tua
Ben fisamente allor ch' ella s' indua
Con donna che leggiadra e bella sia.
E come muore e par che fugga via
Dinnanzi al sole ogni altra chiarezza,
Così costei ogni adornezza isface.
Vedi se ella piace,
Ch' amore è tanto quant' è sua bellezza,
Ed è somma bontà che in lei si trova.

So Dante, lines 39-40 :

E qual donna gentil questa non crede,
Vada con lei e miri gli atti sui ;

and again, lines 49-50 :

Gentil è in donna ciò che in lei si trova,
E bello è tanto, quanto lei somiglia.

Moreover, lines 55 and 56 in Dante :

Cose appariscon nello suo aspetto
Che mostran de' piacer del Paradiso,

may have been in Fazio's mind when he wrote lines 46-48 :

Che sol per le belle opre
Che fanno in cielo il sole e l' altre stelle,
Dentro di lor si crede il Paradiso,

though the turn of thought is not the same.

In addition to the fairly extensive similarities which we have thus far considered, it is worth while to note certain lines of Dante which seem to have remained in Fazio's memory, and to have determined the cadence or choice of words in a verse of his own. The noting of such cases is bound to be somewhat subjective ; but the following will show the sort of relation involved. Dante xiv, 11 :

E questo è quello ond' io prendo cordoglio,

seems to recur in bisected shape, thus :

Poi non vorrei che *prendesse cordoglio* (iv, 94)

and

E questo è quello ond' io più forte dubito (viii, 14),

a similarity which I cannot think accidental. So *Convivio* iii, 131,

E solo in lealtà far si diletta,

recalls the cadence of Fazio iii, 85 :

E solo in suo ben far prende speranza.

To multiply similar citations would be to risk falling into arbitrary juxtapositions ; but the point is worth making as a further indication of the extent to which Fazio had digested the phraseology of Dante's lyrics, and made it an intimate part of his own means of expression.

The relations between the love poems of our two poets may thus be summarized as follows : Fazio draws chiefly from Dante's later and less

scholastic work, with a consequent disregard of the *Vita Nuova* and its related poems. In but one case does he use any single canzone of Dante's as the basis for one of his own, and in that his work is a continuation rather than a copy. In taking over a suggestion from Dante he seldom reproduces it literally, but tends either to combine two passages in one of his own, or to reflect a single passage in two distinct places; he likewise often modifies the application of what he transfers. He also tends to diminish the intensity of what he takes over; to adapt the terminology of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, he is elegiac where Dante is tragic; but he never, I think, lapses into sentimentality.

That Fazio's political poems should be widely affected by Dante's lyrics is scarcely to be expected, the character of the latter not being susceptible of a transfer to poems dealing with the political conditions of Fazio's own day. Yet so close a student as Fazio could not fail to carry over an occasional phrase; and his twelfth canzone, which is in a sense transitional between his poems of love and those of a political cast, has several reminiscences of Dante's love poems. The whole tone of the opening, for some thirty lines, is decidedly Dantesque, and several direct parallels occur. The very first line,

Quella virtù che 'l terzo ciel infonde,
recalls

Ch'infonde sempre in lei la sua virtute

of *Convivio* ii, 28, and the *gran pianeta* of *Canz.* xix, 96, which

con li bei raggi infonde
Vita e virtù.

Fazio has been the servant of her

Che ne' suoi occhi porta la mia pace;

so Dante, in *Canz.* ix, 60,

Nè che negli occhi porta la mia pace.

Later, at the beginning of stanza 7, occurs another reminiscence of this same ninth canzone, consecutive on the one just given.

Onor ti sarà grande, se m' aiuti,
E a me ricco dono,

are Dante's words; Fazio's,

Onor ti sarà grande, e a me stato,
Se per tuo operar son consolata.

Just why these three consecutive lines stayed in Fazio's memory may be hard to explain; but the fact seems undeniable.¹

Of all Dante's moralizing canzoni, the twentieth, *Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute*, has left the strongest impress on Fazio's work. Its double character—partly a vision, partly an expression of Dante's personal attitude—has resulted in a double influence. In the vigorous *commiato* of Fazio xiv :

E se pure t' avviene
Che veggi quel che la tua rima tocca,
Apri la bocca, e dillo tutto intero,

we are reminded of Dante's

Pianganlo gli occhi e dolgasi la bocca
Degli uomini a cui tocca.

But Fazio's love poems, too, show some reflex of the passage (lines 81 ff.) which alludes to Dante's absence from his lady :

E se non che degli occhi miei 'l bel segno
Per lontananza m'è tolto dal viso,
Che m'have in fuoco miso,
Lieve mi conterei ciò che m'è grave;
Ma questo fuoco m'have
Già consumato sì l'ossa e la polpa.

The idea of absence is to be found in Fazio, *Canz.* v, 72 and xii, 5 ; with the fourth line of the Dante passage compare Fazio iv, 4 :

Per dolci bramerei i colpi amari,

with the sixth, Fazio vii, 13 :

Se non ch' i' consumava ogni ossa e nerbo.

Another part of Fazio iv seems to reflect Dante's line 53,

Mirando sè nella chiara fontana,

Fazio's words being

Per *mirar* lei sotto li vaghi cigli,
Come Atteon per ritrovar Diana
Nella chiara fontana (47-49).

The same canzone furnishes, in a general way, the model for Fazio's fifteenth, *O sommo bene, o glorioso Iddio*, which is likewise a vision,

¹ Fazio has the phrase *onore e dono* in *Canz.* xi, 13.

though of a less effective sort. Just as Love, in Dante's canzone, on seeing the first lady pitied her, and

Di lei e del dolor fece dimanda,

so Fazio questions the mournful figure who appears to him :

Non men che la pietà era il disiro
Di spiar del suo stato e sì del pianto ;
Ond' io mi trassi alquanto
Più verso lei e di ciò la richiesi.

Otherwise the conduct of the two poems is not very similar ; but one fairly striking likeness of phrase occurs,

Vedove e pupilli ed innocenti
Del mio sangue miglior van per lo pane
Per altrui terre strane (86-88),

which obviously recalls Dante's

Larghezza e Temperanza e l' altre nate
Del nostro sangue mendicando vanno (63-64),

with a shift of application characteristic, as we have seen, of Fazio's manner.

The remaining parallels to be found in the political group are scattering, and of minor significance. Line 100 of Dante x :

Se ben si guarda là dov' io addito,

appears, condensed, in line 29 of the frottola,

Se guardi ov' io addito.

In *Canz.* xix, 77,

Ancorchè ciel con cielo in punto sia,

says Dante ; so Fazio begins his address to Ludwig of Bavaria (xi, 1),

Tanto son volti i ciel di parte in parte,

and later declares that Ludwig shall see himself

giunto
Imperador co' cieli a sì buon punto.

These are obviously slight ; and the sixteenth canzone shows no affiliations with Dante's lyrics whatever. We may safely say that these political

poems show only such resemblances as were inevitable in view of Fazio's intimate knowledge of his predecessor.

For analogous reasons, and to an even greater degree, Fazio's moralizing poems show few points of contact with Dante's *canzoniere*. Dante, in his poems of that type, is the subtle scholastic reasoner, who, "with harsh and subtle rime," presses home the analysis of his topic. Fazio had neither the inclination nor the ability to be a "syllogizer of invidious verities"; his learning is chiefly in the way of historical or mythical citation and example, a procedure wholly foreign to the lyrical manner of the *dolce stil nuovo*. The full significance of this difference will appear later; for the present, we may simply list the scattering parallels which the third group of Fazio's poems affords.

Three of them, and these the closest, are drawn from Dante's tenth canzone, lines 121-122 of which,

Volge il donare in vender tanto caro
Quanto sa sol chi tal compera paga,

are condensed by Fazio in *Canz.* x, 32,

Quanto più costa, più car tener fassi,

applied to carnal love. Dante's picture of the miser (110)

Che sempre fugge l' esca,

has perhaps lent a phrase to the close of the sonnet on Lussuria (*Son.* vi, 13):

O quanto è da lodar l' uomo e la femina
Che fugge l' esca che per me si semina.

Finally, the opening of Fazio's thirteenth canzone,

L' utile intendo più che la rettorica,

recalls Dante's line 53,

Ma perocchè 'l mio dire util vi sia,

though the tone of Fazio's list of the qualifications of a good ruler is as remote from Dante's way of thought as can be imagined.

But one further case in this group need be mentioned — the reference to the *Vita Nuova* alluded to above. Fazio's first canzone, by far

the best of those in our third group, recounts his sufferings in his exiled and hapless life. It deals with a more sordid side of exile than any which Dante had to bear, and consequently differs in tone from anything of his; but its invocation of death is strikingly similar to that uttered by Dante in the fourth canzone of the *Vita Nuova*:

Anima mia, che non ten vai ?

says Dante :

Che li tormenti che tu porterai
Nel secol che t'è già tanto noioso
Mi fan pensoso di paura forte ;
Ond' io chiamo la morte
Come soave e dolce mio riposo.

So Fazio, full of discouragement and fear, turns imploringly to the same refuge :

I' chiamo, prego, lusingo la morte,
Come divota, dolce, cara amica,
Che non mi sia nimica,
Ma venga a me come a sua propria cosa ;

and her refusal leads him to the thought of self-destruction. The bitterness of his lot has brought him to a depth of despair to which Dante was never reduced, but gives his poem a sincerity which sets it apart from those of its age.

In these second and third groups, then, we find fewer points of contact with Dante's lyrics, a condition explained by radical differences in mode of thought. It is clear that Fazio did not draw on Dante's moralizing poems as if they made, to his mind, a distinct group; for references to them occur in his love poems, just as Dante's love poems lend some touches to Fazio's non-amorous verse. We may note that, had he been a mere imitator, he would scarcely have failed to copy the unusual metrical forms of Dante's moralizing canzoni, whereas in fact he does nothing of the kind. In the main he adheres to the general canons of stanza structure laid down by the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*, the most conspicuous of his deviations being a fondness for a *pes* of four lines instead of one of three (ABbC instead of ABC, for instance), this four-line type occurring, with or without cross-rime, in fourteen out of the sixteen canzoni.

I have tried, in this discussion, to emphasize the certain cases of relationship between the lyrics of our two poets, and to set forth their exact nature; I have therefore passed over many minor coincidences of phrase, which may often be accidental, and which, if significant at all, must be treated on a broader basis than the work of two poets only. The passages here given show, I think, that Fazio deliberately chose such features as were in accord with his own poetic disposition, and that he wove them into a fabric of his own devising, by no means using them as substitutes for activity on his own part. If he is unmistakably influenced by Dante's lyrics, it is as a true follower, not as an imitator; and if that is the case here, it is equally so with his relation to the *Commedia*, to the examination of which we now turn.

II

We have already remarked that Fazio's knowledge of the *Commedia* must have been extensive and profound; but when we seek the reflex of that knowledge in his lyrics, we find it to be of a definite and rather limited sort. Fazio does not draw on the *Commedia* for beautiful passages and figures; practically none of Dante's similes are transferred, and the lines that are echoed seem to have been chosen for their content, rather than for their intrinsic beauty. It therefore follows that the most obvious borrowings are those containing some mythological or historical allusion. By far the greater number of the proper names in Fazio's lyrics occur also in the *Commedia*; but in most cases Fazio uses his own words in what he says of them. In the cases where he does not, he tends to follow Dante closely, as if he regarded him as an authority to be cited with exactness. It is thus fair to say that in such matters he uses Dante as a source of information; and further, that to the influence of the *Commedia* is in part due that infiltration of learned allusions which so sharply distinguishes the typical Trecento lyric from that of the *dolce stil nuovo*.

As a result of this state of affairs, the relation of Fazio's lyrics to the *Commedia* is practically the reverse of that subsisting between them and Dante's *canzoniere*. That is, the love poems show it least, the political and moralizing poems most—a perfectly natural result, as we have already suggested. In what we may regard as the earlier of the love

poems, echoes of the *Commedia* are faint and infrequent. It is true that the opening of the second canzone :

Nel tempo che s'infiora e cuopre d'erba
 La terra, sicchè mostra tutta verde,
 Vidi una donna andar per una landa,

 Per farsi una ghirlanda
 Ponevasi a sedere in su la sponda
 Dove batteva l'onda
 D'un fiumicello, e co' biondi capelli
 Legava fior qua' le parean più belli —

reminds us of Dante's dream of Leah in *Purg.* xxvii, 97 :

Giovane e bella in sogno mi pareo
 Donna vedere andar per una landa
 Cogliendo fiori, e cantando dicea :
 Sappia, qualunque il mio nome domanda,
 Ch'io mi son Lia, e vo movendo intorno
 Le belle mani a farmi una ghirlanda.

At most, however, Dante's words are a mere point of departure, for the remainder of the canzone is in Fazio's most personal manner ; and when we note that he makes no use of the description of the Earthly Paradise, which he might so easily have adopted, it would appear that the resemblance between the two passages is somewhat casual, though it is fair to assume that the lines were running in Fazio's head when he began his own poem. Another similarity seems to me entirely fortuitous ; for in view of the context of *Inf.* xxiv, 48 :

sedendo in piuma
 In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre —

it seems to me unlikely that *Canz.* vii, 32 :

Ch' i' ti vedessi mai sotto la coltre —

is a conscious reminiscence.

In two canzoni, however, the fourth and the sixth, learned allusions begin to creep in, and a consequent relation to the *Commedia* is established. Lines 9-13 of the former,

E' non sonâr con più diletto quegli
 D' Anfione co' quai movia le pietre,
 Nè di Mercurio a chiuder gli occhi ad Argo . . .
 Nè contro Marsia d' Apollo le cetre,

remind us of *Inf.* xxxii, 10,

Ma quelle donne aiutino il mio verso
 Ch' aiutaro Amfion a chiuder Tebe,

and of the invocation to Apollo, *Par.* i, 20,

Sì come quando Marsia traesti
 Della vagina delle membre sue.

Moreover, for the reference to Argus, with a suggestion of the opening lines of the canzone,

S' i' savessi formar quanto son begli
 Gli occhi di questa donna onesti e vaghi,

we may compare *Purg.* xxxii, 64,

S' io potessi ritrar come assonaro
 Gli occhi spietati, udendo di Siringa.

Here again, when Fazio has once poured out his erudition, he returns to his own natural vein, and ceases to echo.

Equally striking, for its exactness of citation, is a passage in *Canz.* vi, (20 ff.):

E così sono un altro Meleagro,
 E questa tien lo stizzo che fataro
 Le Tre, quando il trovaro,
 Ch' al suo piacer convien ch' io mi consumi,

which draws on *Purg.* xxv, 22 :

" Se t' ammentassi come Meleagro
 Si consumò al consumar d' un stizzo,
 Non fora," disse, " questo a te sì agro."

Fazio, too, rimes *Meleagro* with *agro*; and this throws some light on his probable motive for introducing the allusion. The opening of the poem is based on the change of love's sweetness to bitterness, so that *agro* is a perfectly natural word in the development of the thought. Its introduction, however, puts Fazio in mind of Dante's words, some of which

he proceeds to utilize. I hold, therefore, that this particular allusion is not a chance bit of filling, but came to Fazio's mind as a direct consequence of his knowledge of the *Commedia*. How far the observation may be true of other like cases is perhaps debatable; personally, I think it applies to several of them, being another illustration of the fact that Fazio is not a copyist, but a follower.

Yet another example of this is the extent to which Fazio refrains from bodily transferring Dantesque similes, in proof of which three cases may be cited. The first is *Canz.* iv, 18 ff.:

Come per primavera innanzi il giorno
Ride Diana nell' aria serena
D' una luce sì piena
Che par che ne risplenda tutto il cielo,

which has a far-off likeness to *Par.* xxiii, 25:

Quale ne' plenilunii sereni
Trivia ride tra le ninfe eterne
Che dipingono il ciel per tutti i seni;

but the image is a perfectly natural one, appropriate to poetry in all ages. The other two occur in the fifth canzone; one an allusion to the lance of Peleus (59):

finchè 'l dolce sguardo
Non la risanerà d' un altro dardo,

a stock image in Provençal and early Italian lyric, standing in no need of suggestion by *Inf.* xxxi, 4:

Così odo io che soleva la lancia
D' Achille e del suo padre esser cagione
Prima di trista e poi di buona mancia.

The other is in lines 66 ff.:

Giuocando all' ombra delle gran foreste,
Tanto leggiadre e preste
Qual solean ninfe stare appresso i laghi,

which bears a somewhat closer relation to *Purg.* xxix, 4:

E come ninfe che si givan sole
Per le selvatiche ombre, disiando
Qual di veder, qual di fuggir, lo sole.

I have deliberately cited these cases — the most closely related that I could find — to show that where it is a question of poetic statement, as distinguished from learned allusion, Fazio is amply able to take his own course. It seems hardly necessary to list the passages in which Fazio and Dante allude to the same character, but in different terms; it is enough to say that in most of them Fazio very probably drew from the *Commedia*, as a convenient book of reference, but that he drew, after all, with a fair degree of moderation, when we consider the encyclopedic scope of his source.

A somewhat similar moderation is to be found in the political poems, in most of which Fazio is still in control of his powers. In the twelfth canzone, the allusions to Roman history are not couched in terms borrowed from Dante, the closest parallel which I have noted being line 69,

Finchè Tarquin fu da Bruto cacciato,

which recalls *Inf.* iv, 127 :

Vidi quel Bruto che cacciò Tarquino.

When Rome, seeking aid from her senate, finds on the threshold

Superbia, invidia, ed avarizia ria (124),

the quotation of *Inf.* vi, 74 :

Superbia, invidia, ed avarizia sono
Le tre faville,

is manifest. So lines 51-52,

Sotto lo sterpo mio, ch' ora si face
Di greve piombo, e di fuor ci par d' oro,

remind us of the copes of the hypocrites (*Inf.* xxiii, 64), dazzlingly gilded without, but all lead within.

The fourteenth canzone, the bitter invective against Charles of Luxemburg, shows signs of closer dependence, two of the initial curses finding marked parallels. The opening line,

Di quel possi tu ber che bevve Crasso,

suggests *Purg.* xx, 116,

Ultimamente ci si grida : Crasso,
Dicci, che il sai, di che sapore è l' oro?

The fifth,

Come a Mordret, il sol ti passi il casso,

is even closer to *Inf.* xxxii, 61, which is, indeed, almost needed as a gloss:

Non quelli a cui fu rotto il petto e l'ombra
Con esso un colpo per la man d' Artù.

The same may be said of two historical allusions: lines 49-50,

chi sconfisse
Brenno, Annibal e Pirro mise in caccia,

to be compared with *Par.* vi, 43, which tells of the Roman eagle,

portato dagli egregi
Romani incontro a Brenno, incontro a Pirro;

and line 85,

Fe' che le porte furo a Gian serrate,

corresponding to *Par.* vi, 80,

Con costui pose il mondo in tanta pace
Che fu serrato a Jano il suo delubro,

which also reminds us of *Canz.* xii, 49:

I qual col senno loro
Domaro il mondo e riformarlo in pace.

In view of the profusion of names in Justinian's speech in this canto of the *Paradiso*, we may indeed feel that Fazio has been moderate in his selection.

In the present part of our study it will prove more convenient to group canzoni xv and xvi with the moralizing poems; for in them, as the strain of original inspiration becomes weaker, the borrowings from the *Commedia* become more explicit and less modified. Thus, in the fifteenth, we have a simile of Dante's for once frankly and openly adopted — that of the frogs scattered by the serpent (*Inf.* ix, 76):

Come le rane innanzi alla nimica
Biscia per l' acqua si dileguan tutte,

which becomes in Fazio (90-91)

E questi, assai più crudi che serpenti,
Li scaccian, come biscie fan le rane.

It would seem that this particular figure struck a sympathetic chord in his fondness for a certain grotesqueness in the animal world, shown, for instance, in the picture of the enamored basilisks in the fifth canzone. At any rate, he uses it again in the description of Accidia (*Son.* vii, 7),

Gracido e muso come una ranocchia,

related to two passages in the *Inferno*:

E come all' orlo dell' acqua d' un fosso

Stanno i ranocchi pur col muso fuori (xxii, 25),

and

E come a gradidar si sta la rana

Col muso fuor dell' acqua (xxxii, 31).

Another passage of the same canzone shows a similar relationship.

Dico che nel mio prato

Di nuove piante son nati germogli

Ch' hanno aduggiato i gigli e la buon erba (60-62),

says the spirit of Florence, recalling the words of Hugh Capet (*Purg.* xx, 43),

Io fui radice della mala pianta

Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia.

The first of these lines is made the basis of one of those "doublets" characteristic of Fazio.

Io fui radice della nobil pianta,

says Fiesole (*Canz.* xvi, 14); but the opening line of the sonnet on Pride runs:

Io son la mala pianta di superba.

Again, *Canz.* xv, 127:

E me latrando andar sì come belva,

suggests Dante's Hecuba (*Inf.* xxx, 20), who

Forsennata latrò sì come cane.

For a similar close likeness in the sixteenth canzone, we may cite lines 9-10:

Ma, per non trarre in tutto fuor la spola

Della mia tela,

comparing them with *Par.* iii, 95,

qual fu la tela

Onde non trasse infino a co' la spola.

As for the purely moralizing canzoni, their relations to the *Commedia* are rather of general tone than of particular parallels. The savage invective against carnal love (x) derives part of its vigorous vocabulary from that source; the list of hapless lovers in lines 57 ff. recalls that of *Inf.* v, 48; though the names are not throughout identical, there are *più di mille* in each case. There is also one explicit parallel, lines 16 ff.,

Così la lingua della strozza
Tratta di netta e mozza
Gli fosse stata,

suggested by *Inf.* xxviii, 101,

Con la lingua tagliata nella strozza.

The first canzone, which we have already seen to be independent of Dante's lyrics, is equally so of the *Commedia*, except perhaps for the imprecations of lines 40 ff.,

Però bestemmio prima la natura,
E poi fortuna, con chi n' ha podere
Di farmi sì dolere,

somewhat suggestive of *Inf.* iii, 103:

Bestemmiavan Iddio e lor parenti,
L' umana specie, il luogo, il tempo e il seme
Di lor semenza e di lor nascimenti.

When the so-called *disperata* became an established type, this order of topics was actually followed, no doubt rather consciously, as we see in Antonio da Ferrara's celebrated example; but Fazio's emotion was too strong and too sincere to be thus stereotyped.

One more likeness may be added to those which have already been incidentally cited from the sonnets on the deadly sins — the attitude of Sloth in *Son.* vii:

Per gran tristizia abbraccio le ginocchia,
E 'l mento su per esse si trastulla,

which inevitably recalls that of Belacqua in *Purg.* iv, 107:

Sedeva ed abbracciava le ginocchia,
Tenendo il viso giù tra esse basso.

With this the list of really significant points of contact seems to close — of those, that is, which are neither so general as to be uncertain nor

so slight as to be without significance. I can find no indication that any special portion of the *Commedia* absorbed Fazio's attention ; at all events, the passages thus far considered are well distributed. Thirteen of them are drawn from the *Inferno*, seven from the *Purgatorio*, five from the *Paradiso*—a numerical relation which has, I think, nothing to surprise us.

In the order of Fazio's work, however, the influence of the *Commedia* tends to grow as Fazio's own powers diminish ; as he ceases to be a lyric poet in his own right, and becomes more and more absorbed in an antiquarian and moralizing turn of thought. His sixteenth canzone, which has no point of contact with Dante's lyrics, but several, as we have just seen, with the *Commedia*, clearly shows the accomplishment of the change in attitude. We must not forget, however, that here, as before, Fazio is no mere copyist ; if he makes a fairly close quotation, it is, I think, because he is actually quoting, because Dante has become an authority to be cited. When we think of the abundant similes which Fazio might have copied and did not, of the endless historical allusions which he refrained from utilizing, it is clear that he was far from abdicating his essential originality as a lyric poet, even in face of the *Commedia*.

III

In addition to the resemblances in substance and phrasing which we have thus far discussed, a few words may be devoted in conclusion to some general aspects of Fazio's vocabulary and style, which will help to complete our sense of the position he occupies, and to indicate a few more lines of Dante's influence on him. In handling these data I shall not attempt a rigidly exact enumeration, but shall be satisfied with statements sufficiently near exactness to give a fair idea of the matter in hand.

The vocabulary of Fazio's lyrics, omitting the inevitable prepositions and connectives, but without any close allowance for doublets (such as, for instance, *disfare* and *sfare*), amounts to some 1600 words, a very respectable total in proportion to the extent of his lyric work, and distinguished by a large percentage of words used but once, and a marked freedom from favorite epithets and stereotyped phrases. Of this total, all but some 240 are to be found in the *Commedia*, the "standardizing" influence of which is thus illustrated ; but the use which Fazio makes of them is mainly personal.

Of this remainder, many of course occur also in Dante's other works. Twenty-five are used by him in lyric; of these, *cera* in the sense of "countenance" occurs only in the doubtful sonnet xxix, *valoroso* in the probably unauthentic sonnet l. I list the remaining twenty-three for such interest as they may have; those preceded by an asterisk occur also in Dante's prose, the others only in his lyrics.

*adornezza	donzella	pino	*spiritello
cordoglio	faretra	*prudente	stocco
costumare	fatare	riscaldare	struggere
crespo	ghirlandetta	scampare	*tremore
crucioso	nutricare	servente	*virtuoso
*dardo	*piagare	sfare	

They are well distributed among Dante's lyrics, but do not seem to point to any special principle of choice.

Of greater interest is the list of forty words which Dante uses only in prose; for it illustrates the working of one of the forces which tended to widen the range of poetic vocabulary in the Trecento. It is as follows:

amabile	edificare	partecipare	recitare
apostolo	equità	pecunia	rettorica
arroganza	formoso	pertinace	scientifico
bassezza	generazione	piacevole	scure
calamita	genitore	potente	sfolgorato
calunnia	grammatico	pratico	senato
congiunto	incolpare	proverbio	sollecitudine
console	medicare	pupillo	sponere
costanza	moltitudine	purità	stirpe
domanda	oltramare	pusillanimo	virile

Of these, *apostolo*, *congiunto*, *generazione*, *moltitudine*, and *recitare* occur in both *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*, a total of five; *costanza*, *genitore*, *oltramare*, *piacevole*, and *sfolgorato* occur only in the *Vita Nuova*, another total of five; the remaining thirty occur only in the *Convivio*, a fact which would suggest that at least some of them seemed to Dante more appropriate to prose than to poetry.

If we now examine them to see why Fazio should have adopted them, we note at once that many of them would provide triple or *sdruciole* rhymes, for which he has a marked fondness. It is to be noted that all

the words with two definite syllables after the accent (including the forms *calunnia*, *medica*, *participio*, and *spungere*) except *apostolo*, occur as such rimes; chiefly in *Canz.* viii, ix, and xiii, written in them throughout, but also incidentally in *Canz.* x (*moltitudine*, *sollecitudine*). Rime of this type, as is well known, is practically nonexistent in the earlier Italian lyric; and it is conceivable that the few cases in the *Commedia*¹ gave Fazio his cue, which he then develops to an extreme degree.

It is also noteworthy that almost none of the words in this list occur in the love poems, the only exceptions being *formoso* (*Canz.* iii, 61), *calamita* (*Canz.* iv, 33), and *incolpare* (*ibid.* 91), none of them of a prosaic cast. We may therefore conclude that this element of Fazio's vocabulary was introduced for the following reasons: (1) to provide *sdruciole* rimes, often with rather grotesque effect;² (2) as historical terms, notably in *Canz.* xii (*console*, *scure*, *senato*); and (3) more or less as a matter of chance. The only case in which it seems likely that Fazio has been influenced by an actual prose expression in Dante is the phrase *vedove e pupilli*, which he uses twice, and which strongly recalls *Conv.* iv, 27, 118: "Ahi malastrui e malnati, che disertate vedove e pupilli." We may thus conclude that Fazio's later poems do show a gradual infusion of words which would earlier have been regarded as at all events more suited to prose, and that this infusion is due in part to the desire for more vigorous and unconventional expression, partly to a decline in taste, leading to the grotesque or the uninspired.

Lastly, two types of phrasing ascribable to the influence of the *Commedia* may be noted. One is the repetition of words at the beginning of successive lines, the two most striking cases of which are *Canz.* xii, 82 ff.:

Cesar che mia corona in testa tiene,
Cesar di buona spene,
Cesar del mondo franco domatore,

and *Canz.* xv, 107 ff.:

Con disprezzar la guerra e la discordia,
Con disprezzare i maledetti vizii,
Con disprezzare uffizii.

¹ *Inf.* xv, 1; xxiii, 32; xxiv, 62; xxviii, 80. *Par.* xxvi, 125.

² To the same cause are due such forms as *toscara*, *zampora*, etc.

Models for this sort of repetition are easily found in Dante.¹ The other is the use of phrases like *a solo a solo*, *a fronte a fronte*, of which Fazio has several: for the examples in the *Commedia*, see the Blanc-Carbone *Vocabolario Dantesco* (fifth ed., 1896), pp. 2-5. Since the devices were accessible to Fazio in Dante, it is reasonable to think that he took them from him.

We may now draw together the threads of our discussion, and set forth Fazio's relation to Dante as our scrutiny has revealed it. It is, as I have repeatedly insisted, the relation of a follower to a greater but kindred spirit, not that of a copyist to a model. We must consider our various parallels in the proportion they bear to Fazio's entire work; and we shall then realize how comparatively small a part of it they are. There are countless details in Dante which a mere imitator would have seized on, but which Fazio ignores — turns of phrase, historical allusions, figures of speech. To read him attentively is to be astonished at the extent to which he was able to resist the spell of his mighty predecessor, and to develop a type of lyric which is essentially his own, in conception and in phrasing; less intense, but full of picturesque imagery, and of a feeling that is delicate without ceasing to be natural and human.

To call Fazio and Dante kindred spirits is not, I think, an absurdity. Their cycles of development show a striking similarity; each begins with poems of love, passes on into fields of political and moral speculation, and ends with a long poem of a learned character. The difference, of course, lies here: Fazio has neither the intensity nor the intellectual grasp of Dante, and his orbit has a smaller radius; hence his later work gradually declines from his best level, and expires in erudition unexalted by poetry. We must attribute some part of this decline to his evil fortune; some, also, to his own less weighty mind, though few of his contemporaries could support the comparison with Dante with any better showing. Inevitably, Fazio's later work shows less distinction, less taste; and as theology of the scholastic type was ceasing to occupy men's minds — even had he been of a theological disposition — it was equally inevitable that his *Dittamondo* should assume an antiquarian cast, seldom illumined by such poetical power as he still retained. That the

¹ Cf. Oliver M. Johnston, "Repetition of Words and Phrases at the Beginning of Consecutive Tercets in Dante's *Divine Comedy*," in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, Vol. XXIX (1914), pp. 537-549.

Dittamondo was written with any aim of rivalling the *Commedia*, as Pellizzari seems to imply, is to me highly improbable. It was the natural outgrowth of Fazio's temperament and the conditions of the age; unfortunately, Fazio had scarcely the ability requisite for a long poem, and was hampered by his unwieldy material. I suspect that he regarded the work rather as an occupation for his declining years than as a monument of his poetic skill.

This view of Fazio's character seems to me to be borne out by what we have noted as to his mode of adopting hints from Dante. In his earlier work he takes only what is consistent with his own poetic attitude, already fully established; later, as his inspiration begins to flag, he leans on the *Commedia* as a source of information; but in neither stage does he draw on Dante to replace his own intellectual activity. Even in the less-inspired work of his decline, he is still able to strike out an occasional arresting phrase; and when we review his relation to Dante as a whole, it must be with no small respect for one who, in proximity to one of the greatest poets of all time, contrived to maintain his own attitude and his own manner of expression.